

Message Text

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SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-07 ISO-00

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R 291834Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2891

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 18345

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, GE, GW

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRG-GDR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS

REF: BONN 11750

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE FRG-GDR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON
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CSCE, HELD IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE, DID NOT PRODUCE ANY

SURPRISES ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE VARIOUS ISSUES CONNECTED WITH THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. BOTH SIDES REITERATED THE BASIC EASTERN AND WESTERN APPROACHES. THE EAST GERMANS ECHOED THE SOVIET LINE THAT BELGRADE MUST NOT BECOME A WESTERN PROPAGANDA SHOW LEST DETENTE SUFFER. THE GDR REPS ALSO WARNED THAT AN ACTIVE WEST GERMAN POLICY OF BORDER REVISION WOULD IRRETRIEVABLY DAMAGE ANY HOPE FOR MEANINGFUL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. ON THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS, THE EAST GERMANS INDICATED THAT THE EAST WAS WORKING OUT ADDITIONAL DETAILS. THEY HINTED THAT THE GDR WOULD BE WILLING TO MEET FRG INTERESTS ON ENVIRONMENTAL MATTERS IF THE WEST GERMANS RECIPROCATED. THE GDR REPS EVINced NO INTEREST IN CHANGING THE CBM PARAMETERS AND, IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION, THE FRG REAFFIRMED ITS POLICY OF NOT EXCHANGING MILITARY ATTACHES. FINALLY, THE EAST GERMANS EXPRESSED HOPE THAT PROGRESS COULD BE ACHIEVED IN MBFR PRIOR TO BELGRADE, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD NOTHING SPECIFIC TO OFFER. END SUMMARY.

1. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE KOHL, ACCOMPANIED BY GRABATSCH, HEADED THE EAST GERMAN DELEGATION. GRABATSCH WAS GDR AMBASSADOR BLOCK'S FORMER DEPUTY AT CSCE PHASE II IN GENEVA. FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL AND CSCE OFFICE DIRECTOR VON GROLL REPRESENTED THE WEST GERMANS. VON GROLL PROVIDED AN EMBASSY OFFICER WITH A BRIEFING ON THE CONSULTATIONS.

2. THE FRG AND GDR REPS HAD AGREED BEFOREHAND THAT THEIR DISCUSSIONS WOULD FOCUS ON MULTILATERAL CSCE ISSUES, BUT IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT BILATERAL ISSUES ALSO CROPPED UP. THE FONOFF WAS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE ABOUT POACHING ON THE TERRITORY OF THE INNER-GERMAN MINISTRY OR OF APPEARING TO SANCTION KOHL'S ACCESS TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE FOR THESE DISCUSSIONS. THE FRG HAD SUGGESTED IT WOULD HAVE BEEN WILLING TO HOLD THE INITIAL CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE IN EAST BERLIN, BUT THE EAST GERMANS PUSHED FOR BONN (SEE REFTel FOR BACKGROUND). THE FOREIGN OFFICE WAS RELUCTANT TO RECEIVE KOHL BUT FINALLY AGREED TO DO SO, ALTHOUGH NOT EVEN OFFERING HIM CONFIDENTIAL

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A SIMPLE AMENITY SUCH AS A LUNCHEON DURING THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

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R 291834Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2892

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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3. KOHL EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT THE FINAL ACT MIGHT
HELP GERMAN-GERMAN RELATIONS. HOWEVER, HE WARNED THAT
AS LONG AS THERE WAS ANY SUSPICION IN THE GDR THAT THE
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REVISION OF BORDERS WAS AN ACTIVE POLICY IN THE FRG, THERE WOULD BE NO HOPE FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANY'S. KOHL THEN REFERRED TO THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL CHARACTER OF THE BORDER BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANY'S, NOTING THAT THE GDR DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL COURT DECISION THAT THE FRG-GDR BORDER WAS ESSENTIALLY A BORDER COMPARABLE TO THAT BETWEEN LAENDER IN THE FRG. HE STRESSED THAT POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO STATES COULD NOT BE REALIZED IF BORDER PROBLEMS AROSE.

THE FRG RESPONDED THAT BORDERS COULD BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT. REFERRING TO THE SHOOTINGS AT THE BORDER LAST SUMMER, VAN WELL SUGGESTED THAT ONE STATE SHOULD NOT SEEK THE CULPRIT ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE BORDER, BUT RATHER SHOULD REVIEW ONE'S OWN INTERNAL PROCEDURES TO DETERMINE HOW SUCH INCIDENTS COULD BE AVOIDED.

4. THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCES. THE PRINCIPAL TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION CONCERNED THE RESPECTIVE GERMAN APPROACHES TO THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCES. THE EAST GERMANS SAID THEY CONSIDERED BELGRADE A CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF EXPERTS WHERE EXCHANGES OF VIEW WOULD REPRESENT THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE MAIN CONFERENCE. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT A PROPAGANDA AFFAIR WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL TO ANY STATE. THE GDR REPS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING AN EXCHANGE OF PROPAGANDA BLOWS WHICH WOULD TEND TO HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THE CONFERENCE. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR FEAR THAT THE DETENTE PROCESS WOULD BE DAMAGED IF BELGRADE BECAME A SHOUTING MATCH.

WHILE PREFERRING TO AVOID GIVING THE CONFERENCE TOO MUCH POLITICAL WEIGHT, THE EAST GERMANS AGREED THAT IT COULD NOT BE PLAYED DOWN TOO MUCH. THEY ARGUED THAT NO POLITICAL DECISIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN AT BELGRADE. THE WEST GERMANS COUNTERED THAT POLITICAL DECISIONS PERFORCE WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN, NOTING THAT THE PARTICIPATING STATES WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO AFTER BELGRADE. THE GDR REPS SAID THEY FAVORED NO CONFIDENTIAL

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WRITTEN DOCUMENT AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, THEY RELUCTANTLY AGREED THAT THERE MIGHT BE A COMMUNIQUE. REGARDING LEVEL OF ATTENDANCE, KOHL INDICATED THAT THE PRESENCE OF A VICEMINISTER MIGHT BE FEASIBLE.

5. BREZHNEV PROPOSALS. KOHL INDICATED THAT THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S PROPOSALS FOR CONGRESSES ON THE ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND TRANSPORTATION WOULD HAVE BEEN OF INTEREST TO THE GDR REGARDLESS OF WHO MADE THEM. KOHL ARGUED THERE WAS NO HOPE THAT ECE BUREAUCRATS WOULD TAKE ACTION ON THE PROPOSALS, AND THAT THE SPECIAL CONGRESSES WERE NEEDED. KOHL INDICATED THAT THE EAST WAS WORKING OUT DETAILS ON THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS, AND THAT THEY MIGHT BE MADE MORE CONCRETE BEFORE THE ECE'S 32ND ANNUAL MEETING IN APRIL. KOHL EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT PERHAPS AT LEAST ONE OF THE CONGRESSES WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS COULD BE ARRANGED PRIOR TO THE MAIN BELGRADE CONFERENCE NEXT YEAR. (COMMENT: PRESUMABLY, THIS WOULD INCLUDE AN INITIATIVE IN EITHER THE ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY OR TRANSPORTATION FIELDS. FOR EXAMPLE, VON GROLL MENTIONED THAT THE NORWEGIAN PROPOSAL ON AIR POLLUTION CONTROLS MIGHT BE CONSIDERED WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE BREZHNEV PROPOSAL ON THE ENVIRONMENT, ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT MADE CLEAR TO US WHETHER THIS TOPIC WAS DISCUSSED WITH THE EAST GERMANS).

6. VON GROLL ADVISED US THAT THERE WAS A SERIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION PROBLEM INVOLVING POTASH PLANTS WHERE THE WERRA RIVER RUNS ALONG THE FRG-GDR BORDER. THE GDR REPS HAD INDICATED THEY WANTED TO BE FORTHCOMING ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THIS NATURE AND, IF GDR INTERESTS WERE MET, THEY HINTED THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO MEET FRG INTERESTS ON ENVIRONMENTAL MATTERS. (COMMENT: THE FRG INTERPRETED THIS TO MEAN THAT THE

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R 291834Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2893
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
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FRG ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICE IN BERLIN COULD PLAY A ROLE).

7. CBM'S. THE EAST GERMANS PARAPHRASED THE FINAL ACT LANGUAGE IN DISCUSSING THEIR POSITION ON CBM'S. THEY ARGUED THAT NOT ENOUGH TIME HAD YET PASSED TO CONSIDER CONFIDENTIAL

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CHANGING CURRENT PRACTICES OR THE PARAMETERS FOR NOTIFYING MANEUVERS. REGARDING INVITATIONS TO MANEUVER OBSERVERS, KOHL NOTED THAT THE GDR HAD NO MILITARY ATTACHE AT THE BONN PERMANENT REPRESENTATION. HE RECALLED THAT THE FRG HAD AT ONE TIME CONSIDERED THE POSSIBILITY OF EXCHANGING MILITARY ATTACHES WHEN THE FRG-GDR BASIC TREATY WAS BEING NEGOTIATED. VAN WELL INTERVENED TO SAY THAT THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN TRUE, BUT IT WAS NO LONGER FRG POLICY TO CONSIDER SUCH AN EXCHANGE.

8. CSCE/MBFR LINK. THE EAST GERMANS FELT THAT CSCE SHOULD BE KEPT SEPARATE FROM MBFR, BUT THAT THERE WAS NONETHELESS A DIALECTICAL LINK BETWEEN THEM. KOHL EXPRESSED THE HOPE FOR PROGRESS IN MBFR BEFORE THE BELGRADE CONFERENCES. HE REFERRED TO CHANCELLOR

SCHMIDT'S COMMENTS ABOUT THE NEED FOR AN MBFR INITIATIVE.
VAN WELL RESPONDED THAT THE TROOP REDUCTION TALKS
REQUIRED A "POLITICAL INPUT," BUT DID NOT ELABORATE.

9. THE MEDITERRANEAN. THE EAST GERMANS HAD NO TALKING
POINTS ON THIS ISSUE. THEY MENTIONED THE COLOMBO
CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS AND INDICATED THAT THE PARTICI-
PATING STATES COULD PROBABLY NOT AVOID SOME TYPE OF
CONTRIBUTION BY THE MEDITERRANEAN STATES. THEY SAID
THEY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO STICK TO THE PRO-
CEDURES PREVIOUSLY DEVELOPED AT GENEVA.

10. FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES. IT MIGHT STRIKE SOME
AS CURIOUS THAT THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF THE FREER
MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. THIS WAS
THE RESULT OF A DELIBERATE DECISION TO AVOID AN ISSUE
WHICH WAS CONSIDERED TO BE MORE IN A BILATERAL CONTEXT.
THE WEST GERMANS SIMPLY REFERRED TO THE STATISTICS
CONTAINED IN A CSCE DOCUMENT SUBMITTED TO THE BUNDESTAG
LAST JULY. KOHL MERELY ACKNOWLEDGED THE INFORMATION.

11. KOHL RETURNED TO EAST BERLIN ON OCTOBER 27 TO
REPORT TO HIS AUTHORITIES ON THE TALKS. HE INVITED VAN
WELL TO COME TO EAST BERLIN TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS

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SOME TIME IN THE FUTURE. VAN WELL INDICATED HE WOULD
HAVE TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
GENSCHER.

12. COMMENT: THE FRG-GDR BILATERAL CONSULTATION
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SHOULD BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONTINUING SERIES
OF BILATERAL MEETINGS AMONG MANY STATES WHICH HAVE BEEN
SPAWNED BY THE FINAL ACT. THE WEST GERMANS HAVE MET
PREVIOUSLY THIS YEAR WITH THE SOVIETS, AUSTRIANS, AND
ROMANIANS TO DISCUSS CSCE, AND A MEETING MAY BE HELD
NEXT MONTH WITH THE CZECHS IN PRAGUE. THE CHARACTER
OF THE FRG-GDR MEETING WAS OF COURSE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT
BECAUSE OF THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GERMAN
STATES, BUT THE FINAL ACT DID PROVIDE A PEG FOR THE
GERMANS TO BROADEN THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH ONE
ANOTHER. BONN SEEMS DETERMINED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE
SO-CALLED "GREEN LIGHT" EFFECT OF THE FINAL ACT TO TRY
TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH A WIDE VARIETY OF
EUROPEAN STATES. IN EASTERN EUROPE, BONN WANTS TO MOVE
AHEAD ON A PRAGMATIC BASIS IN BOTH BILATERAL AND
MULTILATERAL CHANNELS TO REDUCE AREAS OF PAST DIS-

AGREEMENT AND TO BUILD ON NEW AREAS OF COOPERATION.
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